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although a Mehinaku woman and a Suyá woman who had dwelled among the Waurá were living there. 439

The origin of specialization apparently lies in the diversity of the original cultures of the upper Xingú tribes. While a great degree of cultural homogeneity was subsequently attained through interaction and diffusion, certain culturally specialized items became integral to the trade relationships that were a functional part of intertribal social life. Trade became standardized, and monopolies were thereby perpetuated. The Kamayurá-type bow and the Waurá pot were not only essential to the Trumaí economy, but trade in these items with these tribes was expected and served to reinforce the structure of the supra-village society. 182 439

In addition to trade in specialized products, there was active exchange of other items of Western and native manufacture, such as feathers, fishhooks, line, cotton yarn, cloth, paper, beads, and trinkets. This, however, did not require organized trading trips, as did the exchange of the specialized products. The Trumaí traveled for the specific purpose of trading salt or securing pots and bows, although such transactions were also carried out during ordinary visits and at intertribal ceremonials. The non-specialized items were taken along on all visits in anticipation of a lively afternoon of trading, but they were incidental to such expeditions. 439 484 [177]

Despite the economic foundation of upper Xingú trade, all exchanges were considered gifts. No aspect of trade was recognized as divorced from personal relations. Food was shared freely in the community and did not enter into trade. Quain was the only person in the Trumaí village who traded to obtain food. 439 437 431 [123]

Quain believed that there was a scale of values and a concept of equivalence in trade, as certain proffered articles were rejected by sellers as inadequate. The individual exchanges indicated some equivalence, and there was a tendency for particular categories of goods to be exchanged. Men traded arrows for fishhooks and gourds for small pots. Trinkets also formed a class. However, when dealing in specialized products, payment in another specialty was not required. Western goods were especially desired. Knives and axes were in great demand, and, once given to an Indian by a white man, they entered into active trade circulation. There was sufficient cross-cutting between the classes of articles to suggest the operation of a more comprehensive scale of values, but, unfortunately, Quain had to leave the Trumaí before this could be verified. 439 435 [177]

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the greatest time and effort into its building. Quain was reprimanded for speaking of the house in which Maibu lived as "Maibu's," for his brother-in-law, Mata'wai, had built it. This point of property was confirmed by others, despite the fact that Maibu was the head of the household and acted as host when guests entered. 423

To the Trumaí, the only important property was in the personal possession of transportable, material artifacts. These ranged from tools and weapons to ceremonial objects and trinkets obtained from Quain. The second class of property was probably cherished more than the first, which was viewed as consisting of everyday necessities. The combs, feathers, beads, European novelties, papers, and other such items that all men and women possessed were carefully kept in baskets and gourds near their hammocks. A man and wife would often keep some of their personal belongings in the same containers, but beyond this there was a special category of personal possessions called *wacta*. This highly valued personal property was kept by each individual in separate gourds, where it was safe from the gift claims of kinsmen and reasonably free from the danger of theft. 422 [415]

The privacy of this property was especially observed by opposite sexes, although not as strictly by mates. Quain was told by one man that it was "bad" for a man to look at a woman's *wacta*, although he rummaged at will through the personal belongings of the men. The taboo on male contact with women's *wacta* was due in part to inclusion within it of articles used during menstruation. [84]

Accompanying the stress on personal and private ownership of certain material objects was a strong sense of acquisitiveness. Quain expressed this as follows: "There can be no doubt that property ownership is a paramount drive in this culture. Children are not content to see, as they are in Fiji, but things must be theirs. The possessive pronoun has an importance here which is striking. Once articles are received, they seem to disappear. They are probably carefully guarded among personal belongings." Significantly, the word for "gift-giving," literally translated, also means "to yield to a demand." 181 425 [193]

The Trumaí were tremendously interested in Quain's belongings and made continual attempts to acquire them. Adults as well as children whined in order to obtain objects from him. This attitude was manifested towards useful objects such as knives and axes, but they also pleaded and begged for articles having only curiosity value to them. As Quain said, to be curious about an object was to want it. Possession was desired for its own sake, for only slight prestige was gained by accumulating material objects, and utilitarian articles, such as knives, axes, and pots, were easily borrowed. 123 181 425 [454] [556]

Despite the possessiveness described by Quain, the Trumaí were restricted by strong gift-giving ties. A true brother or a son had a claim 431 602

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on a man's property, as did also, in the following order, his sister's son and his brother's son. Within the household, food was freely shared, and correspondingly, a co-resident could ask for a material object. These requests, however, were not always granted. A common excuse was to say that the object was promised to someone having a stronger claim. Despite these evasions, the patterns of gift-giving created a constant circulation of food and objects throughout the village.

Inheritance

Transmission of property was accomplished chiefly through trade and gift. There is no information on the disposal of the material possessions of the deceased. The only available data on inheritance concern the office of chief and the possession of certain songs sung at the *ole* (manioc) ceremony. The former was inherited patrilineally and will be discussed later. The ceremonial songs were inherited either through the mother's brother or the mother's father. Thus, old Matiwana would some day teach his *ole* songs to Amanatain, his daughter's eldest son. Nitvary, another of the three men who knew *ole* songs, learned them from Jawaku's father, who was his mother's brother. Since cross-cousin marriage was practiced, Jawaku might marry Nitvary's sister, and their child would inherit the songs from Nitvary. In this way the *ole* songs returned to the direct patrilineal line every other generation.

In response to careful questioning, Quain was assured that these songs could be obtained only from the mother's brother and mother's father, and not from the father or the father's brother. The combination of this matrilineal trait and patrilineal elements is characteristic of the bilaterality in upper Xingú culture.

The Trade Game

The trade game was a mechanism of inter- and intra-community distribution. Even more importantly it provided a framework for social participation, leisure time relaxation, and general enjoyment. As such it was one of the few integrating factors in Trumaí society.

Afternoons, especially rainy afternoons, were dull times in the Trumaí village. In Quain's words, "These people are bored but don't realize it! Wrestling provides some diversion, but nothing quickens spirits more than a brisk trade game (*kowirxo*). All that is needed is for one of the men to stride through the village with a bundle of goods to trade and suggest a *kowirxo*. Shouts go up on all sides, everybody crowds into one of the houses, and the game is on. Enthusiasm is even greater when there are visitors in the village."

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These were noisy affairs. The seller threw his merchandise on the ground and loosed an exultant shout. All the participants cried out in response. Occasionally the goods were offered in the hope of acquiring a desired article from a certain person, but usually they were put up for barter with the general public. In this case, whoever wanted the item went back to his house and brought an article to exchange. He placed this on the floor and picked up his purchase. Often the seller refused the proffered exchange and waited for a better offer. If the trade was consummated, another loud shout was given by the audience. These exchanges went on until the participants lost interest, or until no more goods were offered.

All exchanges were considered to be gift-giving. This was especially true of trade between fellow-Trumaí. When members of other groups were involved, trade was at least formally so considered, although the behavior and attitudes in gift-giving, proper, were quite different. When Quain made exchanges he was always admonished to tell his wife who the donor of the "gift" was.

Within the Trumaí village gift-giving and not trade was the usual form of property distribution, especially between kinsmen. A man might trade with a person whom he called mother's brother, or father's brother, or some other relationship term, but this was almost always a kin bond reckoned by extension, and not a close blood tie.

Women participated little in the men's trade games. In part this was due to the sexual dichotomy that operated in social participation generally, in part to the nature of the goods involved. A woman did not want to buy a man's fish hooks any more than he wanted her cotton. Occasionally a woman might break into the male trade game to buy a particular object, but once this was accomplished she would withdraw. A few women might sit around the house where the trade game was being held, especially if their husbands were participating. Occasionally the women held their own trade games in which cotton and household utensils were commonly bartered. Conventional shouts accompanied their activities, but they were less boisterous than those of the men.

The women were especially eager to trade with Quain, to get his cloth and colored thread in exchange for food, which normally was given away. The chief was also a main instigator of trade games with Quain. At times Quain refused to participate to the great annoyance of the would-be second party.

The trade game reflected the Trumaí attitude towards property, in that it provided more enjoyment and excitement than any other form of social participation, except intertribal festivities. Each exchange was watched with bated breath, and the outcome greeted with happy cries and laughter. There was some indication that the most dominant and forward personalities were also the most energetic traders. It was

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551 605 607 Only when he was also the brother-in-law was respect given to a cross-cousin or his name avoided. Female cross-cousins, despite affinal connections, were never so treated by the men.

Avunculate

604 522 [861] [431] The maternal uncle in Trumaí society was in no sense a disciplinarian. Only the father and the father's brother were allowed to strike a child. On the other hand, the gift-giving claims of the sister's son (*deta*) upon the mother's brother (*wawe*) were strong, and particularly so when they were reinforced by co-residence. A man was expected to be benevolent and tolerant toward his *deta*. This frequently took the form of teasing and jollying the boy, and contrasted with the more serious attitude of the father and his brothers. For instance, Yati told his *deta* that he and Quain were going to eat him, and, as if to carry out the threat, he began to drag him toward the fire. The child cried lustily, and Yati immediately stopped and cajoled him. Also, Katauka said to his *deta*, "When you die, I will not cry." Katauka was greatly amused when this caused tears.

Such teasing ceased by the time a boy reached the age of puberty. Moreover, the *wawe* became a defender of the *deta's* interests in the absence of the boy's father or father's brother, and, in some cases, he supervised his initiation ceremonies. Common to both the Trumaí and [437] Kamayurá was the traveling partnership of a man and his sister's son. [171] It was quite usual for a *wawe* to take his *deta* along when he visited another village. Quain noted that on such trips the wife of the older man was rarely included. This is consistent with the sexual taboo [835] between the nephew and the maternal uncle's wife.

The Chieftaincy

622 624 [988] The Trumaí had one chieftain (*aek*), Maibu, and two sub-chiefs, Katauka and Matiwana. At the outset it should be understood that Katauka and Matiwana at no time during Quain's stay exerted any chiefly prerogative or function. They were not men of especially high status — indeed, Matiwana was looked down upon as an old man. Their main function, Quain was told, was to take over the office of chief when Maibu was away from the village. Due to Matiwana's advanced age, this duty ordinarily fell to Katauka. Otherwise, neither man was particularly influential; nor did they talk more in the men's circle than others.

622 537 The chief's main function was to urge his fellow Trumaí to carry out those projects or tasks which were the responsibility of the community as a whole or in its interest, but he frequently exhorted the villagers to

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outright rebellion. Despite a great deal of grumbling and non-compliance, they still tacitly recognized Maibu as chief.

One of Maibu's main prerogatives was his talking function. He alone had the role of exhorter of the people. Other men would be "ashamed," he said, to speak so. Most of Maibu's speeches were delivered at night in the men's circle or before work started in the morning. The attitude of his audience ranged from interest to bored indifference and outright ridicule. One morning Maibu lay in his hammock and shouted for everyone to go out to gather fruit. The initial response to this was a shout from some of the houses, telling him to be quiet. Later some people drifted out of the village carrying baskets, and still later others followed, grumbling that they were being driven from the village. This was a common complaint. Because of the tone in which it was said, Quain thought at first that they were actually being exiled.

The chief had no symbols of office outside of the above prerogatives; yet a deference of sorts was shown him. When Maibu entered the men's circle or Quain's house, someone always got up to give him a seat. Tobacco was usually supplied him, and the donor would roll the cigarette and light it before making the presentation. Even the men who told Quain that Maibu was not a "real chief" made these gifts. Maibu himself did not hesitate to send someone across the village through the rain to fetch something. These favors were usually performed by his kinsmen and co-residents, although occasionally more distant persons obliged. On the other hand, Maibu was expected to be generous towards all the other Trumaí. Nearly everything that Quain gave him passed to other hands. Maibu did not even have a bow of his own.

Maibu's poverty was attributable in part to his heavy gift obligations and in part to the fact that he had no garden. He said to Quain that he did not plant because he was a chief. However, he was not completely a non-producer. He went fishing, joined in collective labor, and helped his wife in gathering. At none of these tasks did he occupy himself strenuously. The only articles that he manufactured were arrows and spears. He thus made no trade commodities, relying on others, principally his co-residents, for all his artifacts and food. On most days he did little except talk, sleep, and philander with the unmarried women.

Inheritance of the chieftaincy was nominally patrilineal. Maibu, however, was the son of the daughter of the Trumaí chief whom von den Steinen had met, indicating that the office can pass matrilineally if there are no male heirs available. (Maibu's brother's son, Jawaku, adopted by Maibu through the levirate, was to have been the next Trumaí chief.) But the Trumaí chief reported by Galvão nine years later was Alo-ari, who was only a distant relative of Maibu.[8] What happened in the years between 1938 and 1947 is not known, but it is apparent that

[8] This information was received verbally from Dr. Eduardo Galvão.

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Jakwanari then presented to the dancers as payment. In another part of the ceremony, a gourd of the *piquí* fruit drink was poured on Jakwanari in the same manner that the manioc gruel was poured on Matiwana during the *ole* festival.

The Spear-Throwing Contest

The spear-throwing contest involved intertribal participation and was completely secular. The core of the celebration, which took place at the end of the rainy season, was a duel between rival teams representing the tribes of the area. The purpose of the duel was for a member of the team on the offensive to strike a member of the defending team with a blunt-ended spear propelled by an *atlatl*, or spear-thrower. The defendant held a few sticks vertically, one end resting on the ground, and tried to deflect the oncoming spear with them. The distance between the two was about twenty paces and hits were frequently scored. After each turn, the defender went on the offensive. The games were conducted in a spirit of friendship and festivity. Bruises, some of which must have been severe, were compensated for by gift exchanges.

The participants painted their bodies elaborately for the combat. One informant erroneously stated that the masks for which the area is famous (but which were no longer made by the Trumaí) were worn during one part of the festival.[1] Intertribal wrestling matches were also held at this gathering.

The Bull Roarer

Information on the defunct bull roarer rites, as for other ceremonies, is extremely meagre. As the Trumaí express it, they have "buried the *kuih*" (bull roarer), but most of the adult men knew the ritual connected with it and remembered when it was still in use. The Trumaí formerly went to the Kamayurá village and took part in the ceremony there. One man told Quain that dancing in the Trumaí village preceded the ritual, whereupon they all went to the Kamayurá village and "did things that the women cannot see." Then, he said, there was a great deal of wrestling and copulation. Yati, Maibu, and Tun played a ceremonial role known only to them, while Yati, Oirupa, and Nitvary sang certain songs at night when everyone was asleep. The ceremonial flutes found throughout the upper Xingú are not mentioned in Quain's notes. Apparently, they were no longer used by the Trumaí.

[1] These masks are worn during a ceremony called the *jakui* by the Kamayurá, which, according to Galvão (1950, p. 385.) takes place in the same season, thus explaining the confusion.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIFE CYCLE

Birth

843 [841] The Trumaí were well aware of the facts of conception, paternity, and pregnancy. That menstruation ceased after conception was, of course, perfectly obvious to them, but it is uncertain whether this was considered a diagnostic of pregnancy. Maibu related some female gossip to Quain to the effect that Aloari's wife, Yumunuwa, was pregnant. When Quain objected on the grounds that she had only recently menstruated, Maibu pointed out as indisputable evidence that her navel was protruding.

847 [732] [848] One of the Trumaí women, the clubfooted, childless, and unmarried Yawala, was pregnant during Quain's stay. She spent most of her time in her hammock and received little attention, except from other women who kept insisting that they perform an abortion upon her. Abortion was usually induced by manipulating the abdomen, but also, it seems, by drinking certain "waters" of which the women had knowledge. Yawala resisted all urgings and maintained that she wanted a child "to hold in my arms."

Abortion was undoubtedly frequent, and infanticide too, and at times without the agreement of the husband. It is not known what, 843 if any, observances and precautions were taken during pregnancy 833 except that sexual intercourse ceased when a woman became very large because "it hurts her."

844 Parturition was accompanied by observances led by old Matiwana, 846 during which the men sat and smoked. The women held the laboring woman in a sitting position, in which she gave birth. The role of the husband before and after delivery was not recorded. After Aloari's son was born, however, his wife bled for three moons. During this time he had to drink a certain medicine. Quain's notes suggest that a form of couvade was observed.

[431] After birth, the only economic exchange that took place was a gift which the husband gave to the wife in payment for the child.

Early Childhood

162 The youngest child in the Trumaí village was a girl between one and two years of age. The other girl was about six. Of the boys, one was about

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occasionally someone, who was occupied or in bad temper, would chase the child away or slap him lightly. The only time that Quain ever saw a child given physical punishment was after some petty pilfering. In this case the father whipped him angrily across the legs. Usually, however, only a verbal reprimand followed misconduct. 867 [861]

Children were in a somewhat privileged category. With respect to gift-giving, the claims of the young were particularly strong, although, as noted above, they were not unlimited. When a child wanted something, it would either be given it or a good excuse would be offered. Parents backed up such demands, and were hurt and aggrieved if the request was refused. 858 431

Children had almost as strong control over their property as did the older Trumaí. Quain dealt directly with the children to secure specimens of children's playthings. The children manifested the same possessiveness as their parents in these dealings and in their general concepts of property. Even little Katsits cried when her father wanted to put up her necklace in the trade game. Her father let her keep the necklace and sought other objects to exchange. 858 422

Children cried frequently, and their tears rarely went unheeded. Teasing by adults was common, but when a child broke into full and lusty howls, he was soothed and comforted. There were no admonitions against crying itself. The only time a child was reprimanded for crying was when it was absolutely unwarranted and annoying to the adults. In such cases, a stern voice was all that was required. By the time a boy reached the age of ten he rarely wept, for he was then going through the initial phases of the puberty rites, and courage and fortitude were expected. 861 152 [881]

Little work was demanded of children. The boys often accompanied the women on gathering expeditions, but this was the only help they gave them. On the other hand, they were frequently called on to perform errands for the men or lend them some small aid. These tasks were done willingly. 857

The older boys occasionally accompanied the men on hunting and fishing trips, thus learning the necessary subsistence techniques. They participated actively in fish poisoning, helped in the preparation and application of the *tawasi* bark, and in the gathering of the drugged fish. Of all the subsistence techniques, horticulture was the last to be learned. The youngest Trumaí to have a garden was Autsuki, who was going through the final stages of the puberty ceremonies. Maibu's foster son, Jawaku, was still considered too young to cultivate his own plot, although he was no more than two years younger than Autsuki. Most of the boys were well acquainted with the work, however, through trailing the men to the gardens and watching them. 868 857

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tention of marriage. But an intention of marriage did not insure exclusive sexual rights. The man usually continued to get gratification wherever he could find it. The knowledge of his other liaisons did not particularly disturb his bride-to-be, as she herself may well have been receiving attentions from other lovers. After marriage, such transgressions were not so readily tolerated.

The chief obstacles in the way of the marriage-bent Trumaí swain were the necessity to shout down his rivals and gain the approval and consent of the girl's kinsmen. The woman's consent was not necessary in making the marriage, and she usually remained aloof, waiting to see who won. If, however, she was not pleased with the mate to whom she was awarded, she was free to leave him. And this she often did. While Quain was in the village, there were marriages that lasted only a day or two due to the bride's dissatisfaction.

In addition to the arguments that precede most marriages, the man was expected to go through certain formalities. He went to the girl's mother and stated his intentions. If the girl had no mother, he approached the nearest male relative. In order to gain the favor of her kinsmen, he distributed gifts, the most important to the girl's mother, others to her father, siblings, and her mother's brother. The gift to the latter was especially important, as he was the one who formally gave the woman, or as the Trumaí phrase it, "spreads her legs." Gifts were also given the girl, culminating with a present of fish. In the meantime the girl made an especially fine hammock which she gave to the groom.

If everything was accepted, the man was free to take the girl to his house. The wedding was preceded by a fishing expedition in which nearly all the men participated, and by a wrestling match for which the groom was beautifully painted. The women held a trade game. The actual ceremony consisted of nothing more than the woman's moving into the house of her mate. A male relative carried her hammock to his home.

This was the way weddings should have been conducted in the Trumaí village. Actually, they were even less formal, especially in the case of second wives in polygamous unions. Marriage and sex preoccupied the Trumaí, for there were not enough women to go around; but even the few formal acts involved interested the Trumaí little. If the marriage was durable, the couple settled down and had children. After marriage and the birth of children no great change occurred in their positions in the community until they reached old age.

Old Age

Everyone in the village was classified as "younger" or "older." The men were either *axosek* (younger) or *tdakek* (older), while the terms for the women were, respectively, *axosektsa* and *tdakits*. These were not age

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"Tremendous interest in property, together with a simple and declining culture, results in my being a seriously disturbing element in their lives. Casual conversation always degenerates into a squabble about gift-giving .... There is intense pleasure in possession. Children get no sympathy when they are hurt, but objects are usually given to them. Every child has the right at least 'to see' anything he desires. In this respect children are pampered. Adults whine for things; withholding a desired object makes them intensely unhappy. Aggressive possession is admired.. Trade games make the exchange of property very fluid. Yet values in trade are well defined, and there is no prestige in giving more than one gets. Within the kinship circle, however, the old lavish property on the young. A father's garden is spoken of as that of his five year old son. There is a deliberate attempt to instill aggressive ownership attitudes in the young. A three year old girl is taught to claim objects in a loud voice. This is done by shouting the possessive pronoun....

"These are a settled people who live within the strict limits of their village. Their small number has advantage in the study of individuals. They have no knowledge of the world beyond the Kuluene-Kuliseu. It has no more real existence than the various inhabited regions of the heavens. The half dozen expeditions which have passed down the river have communicated with the natives only with signs. The one important result of such contact was division from peripheral tribes and the rise of metal tools. The disappearance of the stone industry, on which a defunct Trumaí moiety had a monopoly, has occurred within the last generation.[1] The increased leisure which probably resulted is not utilized economically.

"The complete lack of self-consciousness among these people makes behavior observation remarkably easy. Before I knew any of the language, I could sit by the hour in various households and time the actions of people while they paid no attention to me. For instance, one man during twenty minutes of leisure lay down to rest in his hammock fifteen different times, but each time disturbed himself with the remembrance of some petty chore undone....

"The only restriction of behavior that I have seen in casual intra-village personal relations is that the children are told not to litter the floor. The only positive rule is that the head of a household must sit with a guest and converse while the guest is inside his house .... Furthermore, extra-marital sexual intercourse has occurred in a shadowy corner of my house.. This lack of self-consciousness contrasts strongly with the Karajá, who are more prudish than the Fijians....

"Shortage of women, because of theft of young women, polygamy, lack of sexual interest in old wives (of which there are several), and

[1] Quain refers here to the moiety-like division of the Trumaí which has been discussed in Chapter Three. This appears to be rather a result of the merger of the northern and southern Trumaí villages. The latter specialised in axe-making.